

demands of the slave power for more slave States, new slave Territories and the nationalization of slavery, our distinct and final answer is—no more slave States, no slave Territory, no nationalized slavery, and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves.

6. That slavery is a sin against God and a crime against man, which no human enactment nor usage can make right; and that Christianity, humanity, and patriotism, alike demand its abolition.

7. That the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 is repugnant to the Constitution, to the principles of the common law, to the spirit of Christianity, and to the sentiments of the civilized world. We therefore deny its binding force upon the American people, and demand its immediate and total repeal.

8. That the doctrine that any human law is a finality, and not subject to modification or repeal, is not in accordance with the views of the founders of our Government, and is dangerous to the liberties of the people.

9. That the acts of Congress known as the Compromise measures of 1850, by making the admission of a new Slave State a condition upon the adoption of other measures demanded by the special interest of slavery; by their omission to guarantee freedom in free Territories; by their attempt to impose unconstitutional limitations upon the rights of Congress and the people to admit new States; by their provisions for the assumption of five millions of the State debt of Texas and for the payment of five millions of the Federal debt for a large territory to the same State under measure, as an inducement to the relinquishment of a groundless claim, and by their invasion of the sovereignty of the States and the liberties of the people through the enactment of an unjust, oppressive, and unconstitutional Fugitive Slave Law, are proved to be inconsistent with all the principles and maxims of Democracy, and wholly inadequate to the settlement of the questions of which they are claimed to be an adjustment.

10. That no permanent settlement of the slavery question can be looked for, except in the practical recognition of the truth that slavery is inconsistent with the principles of Democracy, and by leaving to the States the whole subject of slavery and the extradition of fugitives from service.

11. That all men have a natural right to a portion of the soil; and that, as the use of the soil is indispensable to life, the right of man to the soil is as sacred as his right to life itself.

12. That the public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals, nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted in limited quantities, free of cost, to landless settlers.

13. That due regard for the Federal Constitution, and sound administrative policy, demand that the funds of the General Government be kept separate from banking institutions; that inland and ocean postage should be reduced to the lowest possible point; that no more revenue should be raised than is required to defray the strictly necessary expenses of the public service, and to pay off the public debt; and that the power and patronage of the Government should be limited and promoted by the abolition of all unnecessary offices, salaries, and privileges, and by the election by the people of all civil officers in the service of the United States, so far as may be consistent with the prompt and efficient transaction of the public business.

14. That river and harbor improvements, when necessary to the safety and convenience of commerce and navigation, and among the several States, are objects of national concern, and it is the duty of Congress in the exercise of its constitutional powers to provide for the same.

15. That emigrants and exiles from the Old World should find a cordial welcome to homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the New; and every attempt to abridge their privilege of becoming citizens and owners of the soil among us ought to be resisted with inflexible determination.

16. That every nation has a clear right to alter or change its own Government, and to administer its own concerns in such manner as may best secure the rights and promote the happiness of the people; and foreign interference with that right is a dangerous violation of the law of nations, against which all independent Governments should unite in a common endeavor by all proper means to prevent; and especially is it the duty of the American Government, representing the chief republic of the world, to protect against and by all proper means to prevent the intervention of Kings and Emperors against nations seeking to establish for themselves republican or constitutional Governments.

17. That the independence of Hayti ought to be recognized by our Government, and our commercial relations with it placed on the footing of the most favored nations.

18. That, as by the Constitution, "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the rights and immunities of citizens of the several States," the practice of imprisoning colored seamen of other States, while the vessels to which they belong lie in port, and refusing to exercise the right to release them, is a gross violation of the rights of the seamen, and a gross insult to the Supreme Court of the United States, to test the legality of such proceedings is a flagrant violation of the Constitution, and an invasion of the rights of the citizens of other States, utterly inconsistent with the professions made by the slaveholders, that they wish the provisions of the Constitution faithfully observed by every State in the Union.

19. That we recommend the introduction into all treaties, hereafter to be negotiated between the United States and foreign nations, of some provision for the amicable settlement of difficulties by a resort to decisive arbitration.

20. That the Free Democratic party is not organized to aid either the Whig or Democratic wing of the great Slave Compromise party of the nation, but to defeat them both; and that regulating and reforming both, as hopeless, corrupt, and utterly unworthy of confidence, the purpose of the Free Democracy is to take possession of the Federal Government, and administer it for the better protection of the rights and interests of the whole people.

21. That we inscribe on our banner FREE SOIL, FREE SPEECH, FREE LABOR, AND FREE MEN, and under it will fight on and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

22. That upon this Platform the Convention presents to the American People, as a candidate for the office of President of the United States, JOHN P. HALE, of New Hampshire, and as a candidate for the office of Vice President of the United States, GEORGE W. JULIAN, of Indiana, and earnestly commends them to the support of all free men and parties.

Gerrit Smith, of New York, presented a minority report on a substitute, and supported it in a very able speech. He was replied to in a strong speech, by Mr. Giddings, of Ohio.

MINORITY REPORT.

Resolved, 1. That inasmuch as the long-continued activity to the slave power has at last become so boundless and shameless as utterly to forbid all hope of the reformation of the great political parties, we are compelled to organize a new, independent, and permanent political party.

2. Whereas, inasmuch as it will doubtless prove itself to be corrupt and unworthy, we hereby declare that it is desirable that this new party should indicate its characteristic principles by its name, therefore, Resolved, That for this purpose, and also to distinguish it from that sham Democracy called the "Democratic party," we give to our new party the name of the "Free Democratic Party."

3. That our new party, inasmuch as its aim will be the impartial and full realization of the idea of a just civil Government, will faithfully endeavor, to the extent of its jurisdiction and power, to protect all persons (irrespective of sex or color) in the enjoyment of their political rights.

4. That not only do we condemn and trample upon the enactment called the "Fugitive Slave Law," and upon every other enactment for slavery, but we hold all firms, corporations, and especially the most atrocious and shameful one of slavery, to be entirely incapable of legislation.

5. That inasmuch as all the nations and races of men constitute but one brotherhood, we offer our fraternal sympathies to the oppressed, not only of our own land, but of every other land—to those for whom Kansas is expected.

quently pleads as well as to the American slave.

6. That we should rejoice to have Democratic Leagues organized in every part of the world, to co-operate with our own Democratic League in hastening the blessed day when there shall no longer be any tyranny to be executed, nor any victims of tyranny to be pined.

7. That the free access of the landless to the public lands is one of the righteous measures called for by the great good cause of land reform—a reform which justly claims that the right to the soil is the right of all men.

8. That the Democratic principle demands that Postmasters be elected by the people.

9. That the reduction of postage, both by land and sea, to the lowest rates at which it can possibly be afforded, would add greatly to the public intelligence and the public happiness.

That for the Federal Government to tax commerce, and at the same time neglect the condition of harbors and rivers connected with foreign or inter-State commerce, is neither wise nor economical.

That no civil Government which permits dram shops to multiply paupers and madmen, protects its subjects to the extent to which it is bound to protect them.

After which, the Convention adjourned at 2 1/2 o'clock, P. M.

Afternoon Session.

The resolutions were discussed at length by Messrs. Paine of Wisconsin, Tappan of New York, Adams of Massachusetts, Clark of Michigan, Leavelle of Illinois, Wiley of Maine, Prof. Finney of Ohio, and others.

Mr. Tappan, of New York, proposed sundry amendments to the original report of the committee, some of which were adopted.

Mr. Booth, of Wisconsin, moved an amendment to the 6th resolve, by substituting for the words "the enormity of which no law nor usage can sanction," the words "which no human enactment nor usage can make right," which was adopted. Also, that resolution 11th, on the right of man to the soil, be added to the original platform, and inserted before the resolve upon public lands, which, after a brief discussion, was unanimously and enthusiastically adopted by the Convention.

Mr. Hopkins then moved the previous question, which was carried, and the Platform, thus amended, was adopted by States, by a vote of 194 to 15.

The minority report, by consent of Mr. Smith, of New York, was then laid on the table.

Judge Spalding, of Ohio, nominated John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, as a candidate for President.

Dr. Young, of New York, nominated Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, as a candidate for President. S. C. Phillips, of Salem, Mass., was also nominated for President.

George W. Julian, of Indiana, Samuel Lewis, of Ohio, and George H. Evans, of New Jersey, were nominated for Vice President.

The following is the result of the vote for President, each State voting the number of electoral votes to which it was entitled:

Hale—Maine 8, New Hampshire 3, Massachusetts 8, Connecticut 6, Rhode Island 4, Vermont 5, New York 24, New Jersey 7, Delaware 3, Pennsylvania 17, Maryland 10, Virginia 16, Iowa 4, Wisconsin 5, Ohio 23.

Chase—Massachusetts 2, New York 1. The following is the result:

John P. Hale of N. H. 192
Salmon P. Chase, of New York 5
Gerrit Smith, of Ohio 3
Charles F. Adams of Mass. 3
Thomas H. Benton, of Mo. 1
S. C. Phillips, of Mass. 1
Wm. Goodell, of New York 2
Charles Durkee, of Wisconsin 1

On motion, Mr. Rogers, of New York, John P. Hale was declared unanimously nominated by the Free Soil Party for President of the United States.

The cheers were given for Mr. Hale.

The Convention proceeded to nominate a candidate for Vice President.

The following was the result of the first ballot:

George W. Julian—Rhode Island 4, New York 10, Maryland 8, Pennsylvania 27, Ohio 23, Wisconsin 1, Illinois 9—53.

Durkee—New York 1—1.

Julian—Maine 8, New Hampshire 5, Massachusetts 13, Connecticut 6, Vermont 5, New York 17, New Jersey 7, Delaware 3, Michigan 6, Wisconsin 4, Indiana 13, Illinois 2, Iowa 4, Kentucky 12—104.

J. H. Collins—New York 3—3.

George W. Julian—New York 15—16.

G. W. Evans—New York 3—3.

There being no choice, the Convention was about to proceed to another ballot, when Samuel Lewis, in a pertinent speech, withdrew his name.

Messrs. Vaughan, Spalding, and Brisbane, of Ohio, Harding, of Indiana, and others, paid compliments to Mr. Lewis, and bore testimony to his worth as a man and a patriot.

The Convention then proceeded to a second ballot, which resulted as follows:

George W. Julian 187
Samuel Lewis 23

On motion of Mr. Lewis, of Ohio, Mr. Julian was declared unanimously nominated.

Cheers were then given for the candidates, when, on motion of Mr. Booth, the Convention adjourned at half-past seven o'clock, to meet at 8 o'clock, and to announce the nominations to the Mass Convention, which was to assemble there.

Evening Session.

Mr. Hopkins, of Massachusetts, by leave of the Convention, introduced the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That we view the recent advent of Kossuth upon our shores as an event of great importance, and eminently happy and powerful in its influence upon the cause of Liberty, here and everywhere; that we admire the boldness, patriotism, integrity, and love of liberty, from the combination of which emanated that eloquence which has so wonderfully impressed itself upon the hearts of the people, and which has so admirably secured relatives are seeking an asylum in the bosom of the generous West, until such time as God's good providence may return them to their native land.

Under our Stars and Stripes, to dwell once more upon the sacred soil of emancipated Hungary.

On motion of Mr. Wiley, of Maine, it was Resolved, That the proceedings of this Convention, duly signed by its officers, be forwarded to Governor Kossuth.

On motion of Gen. Paine, the thanks of the Convention were presented to the Hon. HENRY W. LORAIN, for the able, dignified, and impartial manner in which he performed the duties of the Chair.

Gen. Wilson responded as follows: Gentlemen of the Convention: Be pleased to accept my grateful thanks for this expression of your approbation. Be assured, gentlemen, be assured, I shall ever proudly cherish the recollection of your kindness. I shall ever regard it as the highest honor of my life that I have so performed the duties assigned me as to receive the commendation of the representatives of the Free Democracy of the United States. If, gentlemen, I have uttered a word calculated to wound the feelings of a member of the Convention, I would ask pardon and forgiveness. For I would carry to my home the consciousness of having acted impartially and justly to every member of the Convention.

We have deliberated in this Convention under peculiar circumstances. The great political parties of the country have bowed to the dark spirit of slavery. We have here to represent the free living sentiment of American Democracy. [Hear! Hear!]

We have come together to settle the living doctrines of this Republic, which have been stricken down by the Democratic and Whig parties of this country. [Cheers.] We entertain some slight differences of opinion. The result of this day's proceedings proves that we were very slight indeed. We came together with these differences, but we all are agreed in the great fundamental principles; and our hearts were all right, our heads have been led astray.

We have adopted a platform as liberal as was ever adopted in any portion of the civilized world. [Applause.] The platform we have adopted embodies the noblest and highest principles of Liberty; we have pledged ourselves to

the country and to the world to be faithful to those resolutions; we have placed upon that platform two noble, faithful, and tried friends of those principles. [Cheers.] And now, gentlemen, we are about to part; many of us can meet no more in this world; we return to our homes in the East, to our homes in the West, along the great rivers, prairies, and inland seas of that mighty section of this country, and to our homes in the South; we shall meet no more, most of us, in this life; we shall meet at another tribunal, and may the declarations of liberty and justice which we have enunciated to-day, be such that when we meet hereafter, we shall feel that we have performed our whole duty to our country and our race. Let us go home and commence an immediate and thorough organization of the friends of human liberty, appeal to the heart and conscience of the country, and vie with each other in every section of the Union, and see who will in the next political contest do the most for the cause of human liberty in America. [Cheers.] And if we are true and faithful we shall establish a public sentiment in the country that shall sustain the friends of freedom in their efforts, and we shall hasten on the day when the footsteps of a slave shall not pollute the soil of the country, and when this great Republic of the West will stand forth as the nation, free and glorious. [Enthusiastic applause.]

The thanks of the Convention were presented to the Committee of Arrangements, the citizens of Pittsburgh, the many Secretary and permanent officers of the Convention, to the Pittsburgh Press, and the Railroad Companies.

On motion of Mr. French, of Massachusetts, the President of the Convention, and the Vice President, each State, and the members of the Convention, were appointed a committee to inform the candidates of their nomination.

Voted, on motion of Mr. Booth, of Wisconsin, that the Convention do now adjourn, sine die.

Secretaries.—S. M. Booth; Jas. W. Stone; Thomas Earle; L. P. Noble; P. Welch; D. L. Herriek; John Sheldon; Frederick Douglass.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 26, 1852.

We are gratified to state that we now print over nineteen thousand copies of the Era. The demand for it has been such that we are unable to furnish back numbers. New subscribers continue to come in, and we hope are long to be able to number twenty thousand subscribers to the Era.

The official proceedings of the Pittsburgh Convention will be found in this number of the Era. We have printed several hundred extra copies, so that new subscribers may begin with this number.

Friends, do not weary in well-doing. Circulate the documents, and let the people have light.

CAMPAIGN CLUBS.

At the earnest solicitation of numerous friends, and hoping to enlarge still more rapidly the circle of anti-slavery readers, and that they may be kept fully advised of the political events during the present campaign, we have organized the Era Club, for four months, which will embrace nearly the whole period of the campaign, and the time during which official results will be made public, on the following terms:

Ten copies will be sent from the 1st of September to the 1st of January, for Five Dollars—the person making up the club being entitled to an extra copy.

DOCUMENTS.

The "Independent Democratic Association of the District of Columbia" will supply the following documents at the prices annexed. Let them be circulated far and wide:

Document for the Campaign, containing Pierce's Record, Scott's Antecedents, Buffalo Platform, price \$2 per 100 copies.

Mr. Durkee's speech on the Fugitive Slave Law as a "Finality," and the Present Position of Parties, price \$1 per 100.

Giddings's speech on Whig and Compromise Democratic Platforms, 50 cents per 100.

Townsend's speech on the Compromise and Democratic platform, and duty of Independent Democrats, 50 cents per 100.

Barnard's, and the obligations of Independent Democrats, 75 cents per 100.

The Platform.—An eight page pamphlet, containing the Platforms of the Baltimore Compromise Conventions, and also the Pittsburgh Platform, will soon be issued—price 50 cents per 100. Orders are requested.

For the above prices the documents named will be sent by express, or otherwise, as directed, to any part of the country; for 50 cents additional per 100 copies, they will be developed and sent without charge by mail to the addresses of any list which may be forwarded. Any other Congressional speeches ordered will also be forwarded, so far as they can be obtained.

To enable the Association to publish documents, and otherwise to defray its necessary expenses and advance the cause, a fund of at least 2,000 dollars is needed. Let those who are able and willing forward their contributions without delay to

A. M. GANGWEER, Secretary.
Washington, D. C., July 30, 1852.

THE DUTY OF THE INDEPENDENT DEMOCRAT.

The Pittsburgh Gazette issues a long editorial on the position and aims of the Free Democracy. It seems to labor under the idea that the Independent Democracy, by combining in a separate organization, aim to destroy the Union, and procure such union as an admission to the Whig party, as the best means of securing Anti-Slavery action. The Free Democracy are not Disunionists; to class them as such does them great injustice, and the Gazette must be aware of this. If it is not, we advise it to peruse the platform adopted at Pittsburgh on the 12th of August. It closes its article in these words:

"We abide in the Whig party, because we believe it is the only party in existence that can arrest the progress of slavery and resist its arrogant claims. And this it could have done, had not our strength been broken by the desertion of many thousands of zealous friends of freedom, who, in their zeal, placed themselves in a position where their influence was lost, and they themselves became the slaveholders' objects of derision rather than of fear."

That there are many Anti-Slavery Whigs who will vote for Scott, notwithstanding the platform on which he stands, cannot be denied. So also there are many Anti-Slavery Democrats who will vote for Pierce; and the question arises, Does not a vote for Scott, or a vote for Pierce, endorse the platform upon which they were severally nominated? This cannot be doubted; and no one will contend that an endorsement of either of those platforms indicates a protest against slavery being an endorsement of the platform of the Free Democracy. [Hear! Hear!]

We judge of the future by the past. Many of the Whig banners in 1848 throughout the North contained these words: "Taylor, Fillmore, and Free Soil!" and the Whigs then, now, claimed that they were the genuine Free Soil party. They were successful, and what has been the history of the Administration elected by their exertions? Has its measure been such as to incur to the cause of Freedom? Not at all; no one will assert this; and for the Free Democracy to disband at the

suggestion of the Gazette, and vote the Whig ticket, would be to stultify themselves before the world. The Independent Democracy stand upon firm ground, in a manly attitude of resistance to the ignoble platforms adopted at Baltimore; and by the blessing of God, they will continue to stand there, unshaken by the flimsy arguments which govern the Pittsburgh Gazette.

"PHYSICIAN, HEAL THYSELF."

The essential nature of all races and classes of men is so far alike, and the resulting harmony of their interests so complete, that no difference of conditions among them are favorable for any party, except such as relate them in helpful correspondence to each other. All hostilities are mutually destructive. The laws of chemistry are laws of dead matter, and their work is death. An acid destroys an alkali, and it itself destroyed. Neither of the elements properly survives the conflict. The changes of mere matter are transformations; but in the domain of life, all reciprocal action is for growth and development; its aim is perfection, and the laws harmony. Everywhere in living nature the individuals of a kind are at peace with each other; and as the rank and endowments rise in dignity and excellence, social relations grow, with equal pace, more numerous, intimate, and beneficent. But the principle of liberty enters the system of existence along with vitality, grows with its growth, and strengthens with its strength, and disorder and strife become possible in correspondent augmentation. Still, the scheme of life is unity, and its policy is peace; and the law of harmony must be obeyed, or it will be vindicated by its natural penalties—not that vengeance is the end, for the sovereign purpose is not more defeated by rebellion itself than by the punishment which corrects it. Hell is a continued infection, and annihilation would be utter negation; its complete acknowledgment.

Suffering is the corrective of evil, and the discipline the wrong-doer, that, in the end, good may prevail; or, as St. Paul has it, God may be all in all, when all things shall be subdued unto Him. To the working of this grand scheme it is obviously essential that service and sacrifice be rendered by the higher to the lower; that the elder shall serve the younger, the angels minister to the heirs of salvation, and the Divine atone for all. The great law of our life, the righteousness which is of God by faith, in the apostle's apprehension, is that the disciple "may know the fellowship of His sufferings, being made conformable to his death," and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ.

This doctrine of human redemption has been rendered vague and mystical by theological speculations; but it is based in nature and necessity, and must be understood before we can have the rule of duty or guide of policy for the aims of social benevolence. The idea is, that it is the office of the wise to instruct the ignorant, and of the strong to help the weak; for the fact is, that they can be enlightened and strengthened in no other way. It is this moral necessity that dedicates the good to the service of the evil, that tends the disciples out as sheep among wolves, that compels the surrender of life to the tasks of study, the sacrifices of benevolence to death on the battlefield, or at the moment of death, and gives us all the forms of heroism which we worship among men.

This being the economy, the policy, of the social system, what are its requirements and the conditions of its success, in any enterprise of civil or political amendment of the condition of one class of men by the agency of another? If it be the system of domestic slavery, such as exists among us, which is to be remedied, it is clear that to be capable of the work, we must not only feel the wrong and design the relief, but we must know the means and possess or provide the conditions which shall avail in practice for the purpose.

How does the case lie before us? We are politically free as individuals, and independent as a nation. The slaves are denied every civil and political right of human beings; and our laws; they are chattels to their masters, and only magicians animals to themselves. Are we qualified for their elevation, and are our institutions capable of receiving them into the freedom which we contemplate for them?

Legal emancipation might be effected in several ways. By legislation of the constitutional authorities, enforced by the peaceful powers of Government; by force of arms, employed by the free people; or by the nation in the commission of the crime by colonization; and by other means, or several of these combined. The relation of master and slave could be dissolved by either of these methods; and, if the right of freedom were perfect, and the aim could certainly be well secured, the precedents which the world respects would warrant any of them, and they would be both allowable and obligatory upon the parties who possessed the power. But it is felt that there is something in several of these possible plans which forbids their adoption. No sound heart or clear head would consent to civil war, much less to servile insurrection, to effect the object. The reasoning which justifies our own national revolution does not satisfy the conditions of this case. The abstract right is the same, in both white and black men, for their ultimate destiny is the same, and the highest interests of each demand equally favorable institutions and action. Why, then, do we pause, both in thought and action?

I think the true reason is, that we are not fit, and that our civil and social economy is not adjusted to the necessities of the enterprise.

Our own liberties stand upon the principle that all men are created equal, and our institutions in every respect being.

We provide for the inevitable exceptions, however, by laws which exclude infamy and womanhood from participation in the administration of the Government; and we run the risk of incompetency among adult white men, in the confidence that there is safety in the majority. For, after all, it is only a legal fiction that every man is his own governor, and assents to the laws which he must obey. Only one-fifth of the entire population of New York have the right of suffrage, and of course, the State is governed by one-tenth of its people.

Our American republicanism is, therefore, much narrower than the sweep of its theoretical maxims, and our institutions in no tolerable measure cover the ground of their basis; and it is this very point of incompetency for the functions of government which breaks the correspondence. Still we hold by the principle none the less that we refuse its proper force in our forms and facts.

Now, the principle is true. No man can own another man as property, and no man can own anything that belongs to that other man; they are his benefits, and deprivation of the least is an injury and a wrong. General propositions are to be carefully examined and fully understood, or they lead to confusion. We may every man has naturally the right of self-government; but our system in fact goes much further—it empowers every man to govern his neighbor also. In a particular exigency, a single vote may decide the policy of a whole State. Competency for political liberty in our representative system of legislation is therefore a matter in which everybody else is concerned,

as well as the man who claims the right; and it is not unreasonable to make it a condition of enfranchisement and citizenship. But on the other side, again, the disfranchised man and woman may plead their natural right of self-government infringed by the denial. Such rights as these, in such conditions, may and do conflict. Where is the mischief that begets this confusion, and dislocates the logic of the principles? These principles are respectively right, and cannot, therefore, contradict each other. It must be, as heretofore, that each in the sphere of some falsehood where they meet, that they go thus to war. I can find the error nowhere else than in the constitution of the civil state. If that were true, if it were the true focal point of action for any right principle, it would not embarrass or destroy the force of any other. The primary rights of all men issue fairly out of the abstract truth, but they get entangled in the forms of our organic structure and the facts of our condition. It is not so in the institutions of nature. In the family economy, infamy and incompetency work no forfeiture of rights, and cripple no interests, and sacrifice no benefits, of individuals. Liberty and authority are there well balanced; parental instincts and natural affection promote the highest good of all. The wisdom and strength of the little society supply its ignorance and weakness; the inequality is without oppression, and the Government is in the best hands for the best uses of the whole community. The new-born child and the immature youth are governed so far as they need direction; they are not invested with offices of which they are incapable, but their powers are not crippled; their freedom is conceded to the full measure of their capabilities, and its exercise is encouraged.

Until the institutions of civil society are in like manner adjusted to capacities and fitted for the protection of the interests of all its members, as heretofore, will serve only for the greatest good of the greatest number, which they can accommodate of the people concerned in organizing them. Government by representation in the higher councils of State is not to be necessary, on account of the inconvenience of primary assemblies of the people for such purposes; but it is also another effect: it removes the power, by many a step in many an indirect path, from the populace; and the majority principle in the election of legislators is nothing else than a plan for ascertaining truth by counting the noses of the opposing parties, however necessary it may be for the purpose of attaining a decision of the questions submitted.

Now, with imperfections such as these which have been presented, and other violations of its fundamental principles which are obviously unavoidable, it is clear enough that our representative democracy is incapable of providing for the rights of all the people, and, at the same time, securing the order, civil and social, which exists among us.

If we had a perfect order, no man would be any more disposed to hold a slave than to be one. A perfect system would be an adapted one, and of course, under it, no man's ignorance or weakness would be inimical to any other, because provision would be made for him which would keep him in place, while his best interests would be kept within his reach; and so his own well-being would flow into and swell the tide of the general prosperity.

I am not denying that republicanism is an advance upon monarchy and aristocracy, and that government of all by the many is not an improvement upon the one-man power. I reckon, on the contrary, that our liberties are worth all that their purchase and conquest have cost in the past ages. I am only exhibiting the discrepancy between the first principles which we hold, and the forms through which we endeavor to give them effect. The exposure shows the difficulty which there is in according to the disfranchised classes the rights which first principles demand for them. The radical reasoner has no trouble in displaying his doctrine of human rights, and good conscience and highest policy corroborate his creed with their instant endorsement; but the objector who stands upon the incompatibility of universal justice with the existing system, has advantages in his position from which he is not so easily dislodged.

But if the emancipationist waits for the present state of the political rights, and only insists upon his lawful ownership of himself, and his rights to the rewards of his own labor, he betrays the alleged incapacity for full citizenship, and damages very materially the force of his argument for the simpler rights demanded. It greatly affects the entireness and beneficence, as well as the policy, of the individual's personal freedom, to strip him of his political safeguards and auxiliaries. This is what is meant by the assertion that the emancipated slave is changed into a nuisance, and crushed under the degradation of an oppressed caste, and held there without hope of change, by the repugnance of the higher classes. I apprehend that there is no certain or immediate prospect that the free States will admit their colored inhabitants to the rank and rights of citizenship. If this be so, the objection, to this extent, is supported by the fact, and the incompetency of our institutions for complete emancipation, affected as they are by the public sentiment which controls them, is established.

But our industrial system, or the economy of property and commerce, and the social order which results, confront the personal freedom of the three millions with other incompatibilities, which touch the very substance of our rights to grant the right, and to confer its real blessings along with the form and name of freedom. The Great Teacher said to one of his disciples, "After thou art converted, preach my gospel; and we must not be surprised if the enemy retorts the advice to the friends of universal freedom."

What, hitherto, have our laws done for the rights of labor, that may authorize us to reproach any form of oppression which touches the rights of those who have no other capital? Are they free from the faults which occasion the pauperism of Europe? Are they not essentially a copy of the property feudalism which still survives in the Old World? Nature and necessities of our condition have made for us all our boasted difference. Imprisonment for debt, and the sweeping desolation of legal executions, are only now beginning to abate their barbarous rule among us. And the natural right of the landless man to his own patrimony in the public

